

THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN CHILE - A LESSON FOR REVOLUTIONARIES THE WORLD OVER

Editorial of the newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In Chile the counter-revolutionary storm continues to rage against the working masses, the patriots and fighters. The rightwing forces which seized power as a result of the September 11 coup d'état have established a reign of terror which the Hitlerites themselves would have envied. People are summarily executed everywhere, in the streets or at work, without trial, and under any pretext. The sports stadiums have been transformed into concentration camps. On public squares, in Nazi fashion, they consign Marxist works to the flames and trample progressive culture underfoot. The democratic parties, the trade unions and democratic organisations have been outlawed, and medieval obscurantism is taking over the country. The forces of evil, the fanatic ultrareactionaries and the agents of U.S. imperialism occupy the forefront of the political scene. The democratic freedoms which the people had gained through struggle and bloodshed have been suppressed in one day.

The events in Chile affect not only the Chilean people but all the revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces of the world. That is why not only the revolutionaries and the working people of Chile, but also the revolutionaries and the working people of

other countries, should draw conclusions from these events. Certainly, it is not a question of analysing purely national details and aspects, or particular actions of the Chilean revolution, shortcomings and mistakes which do not go beyond the internal framework of this revolution. It is a question of general laws which no revolution whatever can avoid and which every revolution must implement. It is a question of considering and evaluating, in the light of the events in Chile, the correct and incorrect views on the questions of the theory and practice of revolution, to demonstrate which are the revolutionary theses and which are the opportunist ones, in order to determine which attitudes and actions contribute to revolution and which to counter-revolution.

In the first place it must be said that the time during which the Allende Government was in power constitutes a period which cannot easily be erased from the life of the Chilean people or from the whole history of Latin America. Interpreting the demands and wishes of the broadest popular masses, the Popular Unity government adopted a series of measures and carried out a number of reforms which aimed at strengthening freedom and national independence, and the independent development of the country's economy.

This government dealt a heavy blow at the local oligarchy and the U.S. monopolies which occupied all the key posts and were making the law in the country. The inspirer of this progressive and anti-imperialist line was president Allende, one of the noblest figures to emerge from Latin America, an outstanding patriot and democratic fighter. Under his leadership the Chilean people struggled for land reform, for the nationalisation of foreign companies, for the democratisation of the life of the country and to protect Chile from the US influence. Allende vigorously supported the anti-imperialist liberation movements in Latin America and made his country an asylum for all the freedom fighters persecuted by the thugs and military juntas of Latin America. He unreservedly backed the liberation and anti-imperialist movements of the peoples and was in full solidarity with the struggle of the Viet-nameese, Cambodian, Palestinian and other peoples. Could the big Chilean landowners, who saw their estates distributed to the poor peasants, pardon him for following this course? Could the manufacturers of Santiago who were expelled from their nationalized plants endure it? Or the U.S. companies which lost their power? It was certain that one day they would unite to overthrow the established regime, and regain their lost privileges.

Here a question naturally arises: Was Allende aware of the atmosphere which surrounded him, did he see the plots being concocted against him? He certainly did. The reaction acted openly. It assassinated cabinet ministers, functionaries of the governing parties, and rank and file white-collar workers. It instigated and directed the organization of the counterrevolutionary strikes of the lorry owners, merchants, doctors, and other petty-bourgeois strata. Finally he also had to test his strength against the abortive military coup in June. At that time certain plans, worked out by the CIA to topple the lawful government were discovered.

These attacks by internal and external reaction would have been sufficient to implement the great law of every revolution, that counter-revolutionary violence must be opposed with revolutionary violence. President Allende did nothing, he made no move. Certainly he cannot be accused of lack of ideals. He loved with all his heart the cause for which he was fighting, and he always believed in the justice of this cause. He did not lack courage and he was ready to make, and did in fact make, the supreme sacrifice. But his tragedy was that he believed that through reason he could convince the reactionary forces to give up their activity and relinquish their positions and privileges. In Chile it was believed that the relatively old democratic traditions, the parliament, the legal activity of the political parties, and the existence of a free press were an insurmountable obstacle to any reactionary force which might attempt to seize power by violence. Reality however, has proved the contrary. The coup d'état of the rightwing forces has shown that the bourgeoisie tolerates some freedoms as long as its essential interests are not affected, but as soon as it feels that these interests are threatened it does not take any ethics into

consideration. The revolutionary and progressive forces in Chile, suffered a defeat. This is very serious, but temporary. A constitutional government may be overthrown, thousands of people may be killed and dozens of concentration camps set up. But the spirit of freedom, the spirit of revolt of the people, can neither be killed nor imprisoned. The people resist, which proves that the working masses are not reconciled to defeat, that they intend to draw conclusions from it and to advance on the revolutionary road. The liberation struggle against reaction and imperialism has its zig-zags, its ups and downs. There is no doubt that the Chilean people who have so many times given proof of patriotism, who greatly love freedom and justice, and profoundly hate imperialism and reaction will know to mobilize their forces, and struggle tit for tat against the enemies to win final victory.

If all this is a grave, but temporary, misfortune for the Chilean people, for the modern revisionists it constitutes an allround failure, an utter defeat of their opportunist theories. The revisionists, from those of Moscow to those of Italy, France and elsewhere, cited the «Chilean experience» as a concrete example of their «new» theories of the «peaceful road of revolution», the transition to socialism under the leadership of many parties, the moderation of the nature of imperialism, the extinction of the class struggle in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, etc. The revisionist press capitalized greatly on the «Chilean road» to publicize the opportunist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the reformist and utopian programme of the Togliattist type. From the «Chilean experience» the revisionists expected not only verification of their theories of «the parliamentary road», but also a «classic» example of the building of socialism under the leadership of a coalition of Marxist and bourgeois parties. They hoped to see a confirmation of their thesis that the transition to socialism is possible through parliamentary elections and without revolution, that socialism can be built not only without smashing the old bourgeois state machine, but with its aid, not only without establishing peoples revolutionary power, but by negating it.

The theories, propounded by the Soviet revisionists in the first place and by the Italian, French revisionists and their supporters, of «peaceful coexistence» and the peaceful «parliamentary road», are responsible to a considerable extent for the propagation of peaceful illusions and opportunist stands towards the bourgeoisie and diversion from revolutionary struggle. All the programmatic documents of the western revisionist parties, adopted since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, absolutize the «parliamentary road» of transition from capitalism to socialism, while the non-peaceful road is entirely excluded. In practice these parties have finally renounced revolutionary struggle, and they strive for reforms of narrow economic or administrative character. These parties have turned into bourgeois opposition parties and have become candidates to ensure the administration of the wealth of the bourgeoisie just as the old social-democratic parties have done so far.

The Communist Party of Chile, one of the main forces of the Allende Government, was a fervent partisan of the Khrushchevite theses of «peaceful transition» both in theory and practice. Following instructions from Moscow, they claimed that the national bourgeoisie, and imperialism, have become more moderate, tolerant and reasonable and that in the new class conditions allegedly created by the present-day world development, they are no longer able to pass to counter-revolution.

But such theories, as the case of Chile once more showed, cause the working masses to remain undecided and disorientated, weaken their revolutionary spirit, and immobilize them in the face of the threats of the bourgeoisie, they paralyse their capacity to carry out firm revolutionary actions against the counterrevolutionary plans and actions of the bourgeoisie.

The revisionists, as was foreseen by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, and proved in practice, were against revolution and aimed at turning the country, just as they did the Soviet Union, into a capitalist country, from a base of revolution into a base of

counterrevolution. They worked for a very long period of time to sow confusion in the ranks of the revolutionaries and undermine the revolution. Everywhere and at every moment they have acted as fire extinguishers of revolutionary battles and of national liberation struggles. «Although for demagogical purposes they pretend to be for revolution – comrade Enver Hoxha has said, through their views and actions the revisionists seek to nip it in the bud or sabotage it when it bursts out». Their departure from Marxism-Leninism, their abandonment of the class interests of the proletariat, their treachery to the cause of the national liberation of the peoples, led the revisionists to completely deny revolution. For them, the theory and practice of revolution were reduced to some reformist demands, which can be met in the framework of the capitalist order without affecting its basis. The revisionists try to prove that the boundary between revolution and reforms has been wiped out, that under the present-day conditions of world development there is no longer any need for revolutionary overthrow because, they allege, the present technical-scientific revolution is doing away with the social class contradictions of the bourgeois society, and is a means for the integration of capitalism into socialism, a means to create a «new society» of prosperity for all. Thus, according to this disorientating logic, one can no longer speak about exploiter and exploited; thus, according to them, social revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, become unnecessary.

Under the mask of Leninism and of its creative development, the revisionists aimed at world domination, turning into social-imperialists. They began with Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence, with peaceful competition, with a world without weapons or wars, with the parliamentary road, etc., and ended in the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and the degeneration of socialism into social-imperialism.

They were against revolution and the struggle of the peoples for liberation, they were against the communist parties which were loyal to and defended Marxism-Leninism. In order to achieve their aims, especially the extinction of the liberation struggles and revolutionary movements, the revisionists placed the «peaceful road» at the foundation of their theory. By revising fundamental questions of Marxism, such as the theory of revolution, and propagating their opportunist theses, they wanted to convince the workers to give up their revolutionary class struggle, to submit to the bourgeoisie, and accept the capitalist slavery.

The «peaceful coexistence» the Soviet leaders proclaimed as the fundamental line of their foreign policy, which they wanted to impose on the whole world communist and national liberation movement, was a total strategic plan to reach broad agreements with imperialism, in order to strangle the revolutionary movements and to extinguish the liberation struggles, to preserve and extend the spheres of influence. The revisionists wanted to use, and did in fact use, this kind of «coexistence», which fully suited imperialism and the bourgeoisie, as a great diversion to disarm the masses ideologically and politically, to lower their revolutionary vigilance and immobilize them, to leave them defenceless in face of future attacks of the imperialists and social imperialists.

The Soviet revisionists, as well as the other revisionists who managed to usurp the state power, destroyed the party, stripping it of revolutionary theory, rejected and trampled under foot all the Leninist norms, and paved the way to liberalism and degeneration in the country. In spreading their anti-Marxist theses that «capitalism is being integrated into socialism», that the «bearers» of the ideals of capitalism and «leaders» of the struggle for socialism can also be «non-proletarian parties», that «advance» towards socialism» is being made even in those countries where the national bourgeoisie is in power, the revisionists not only aimed at denying the theory of the vanguard party of the working class, but wanted to leave the working class without leadership in the face of the organized attacks of the bourgeoisie and reaction.

History has proved, and the events in Chile, where it was not yet a question of socialism, but of a democratic regime, again made clear, that the establishment of socia-

lism through the parliamentary road is utterly impossible. It should be said first that so far the bourgeoisie has not allowed the communists to win a majority in parliament and found their own government. Even in a special case where the communists and their allies have managed to ensure a balance in their favour in parliament and to enter the government, this has not led to change in the bourgeois character of the parliament or of the government, and their action has never gone so far as to smash the old state machine and establish a new one.

In the conditions when the bourgeoisie controls the bureaucratic administrative apparatus, the ensurance of a parliamentary «majority» that would change the destiny of the country, is not possible. The main part of the bourgeois state machine is the political and economic power and the armed forces. For as long as these forces remain intact, as long as they have not been dissolved and new forces created, as long as the old apparatus of the police, intelligence services, etc., is preserved, there is no guarantee that a parliament or a democratic government can last long. Not only the case of Chile, but many others, have proved that the counterrevolutionary coups d'état have been committed precisely by the armed forces commanded by the bourgeoisie.

Khrushchevite revisionists have purposely created great confusion concerning the very clear and precise theses of Lenin on the participation of communists in the bourgeois parliament and on the seizure of state power from the bourgeoisie. It is known that Lenin did not deny the participation of the communists, in certain cases, in the bourgeois parliament. But he considered this participation only as a tribune to defend the interests of the working class, to expose the bourgeoisie and its state power, to force the bourgeoisie to take some measure in favour of the working people. But at the same time, Lenin warned that, while fighting to make use of parliament in the interest of the working class, one should avoid the creation of parliamentary illusions, and keep clearly in mind the falsity of bourgeois parliamentarism. «Participation in the bourgeois parliament, Lenin said, is necessary for the party of the revolutionary proletariat to enlighten the masses, through elections and the struggle of the parties in the parliament. But to limit the class struggle to the struggle inside parliament, or to consider this as the highest and final form, as the decisive form, to which all other forms of struggle are subject, means in fact to pass over to the side of the bourgeoisie, against the proletariat».

Criticizing the «parliamentary cretinism» of the representatives of the second International, who turned their parties into electoral parties, Lenin clearly showed where parliamentarianism leads to in ideology, policy and practice. He stressed that the «proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) cannot replace it (the bourgeois state - editor's note) through its «gradual elimination», but as a general rule, only through violent revolution». He stressed that the «need to systematically educate the masses with this idea, and precisely this idea of violent revolution, is the basis of the entire doctrine of Marx and Engels».

Still advocating the «parliamentary road», the modern revisionists do nothing but follow blindly after Kautsky and company. But the further they march on this road, the more they expose themselves and the more defeats they suffer. The whole history of the international communist and workers movement has proved that violent revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitute the general law of proletarian revolution. «The transition to communism, Lenin stressed, is carried out through the dictatorship of the proletariat and it cannot happen otherwise, for there is no other class and no other way to suppress the resistance of the capitalist exploiters».

In the stage of imperialism, at the beginning and now too, there has always existed the danger of the establishment of a fascist military dictatorship whenever the capitalist monopolies think that their interests are threatened. Moreover, it has been proved, especially since the end of the second world war to this day, that US imperialism, British imperialism and others have come to the assistance of the bourgeoisie of various coun-

tries to eliminate those governments or to suppress those revolutionary forces which in one way or another even slightly endangered the foundations of the capitalist system. For as long as imperialism exists, there still exists the basis and possibility for and its unchangeable policy of interference in the internal affairs of other countries, counterrevolutionary plots, the overthrow of lawful government, the liquidation of democratic and progressive forces, and the strangling of revolution.

It is U.S. imperialism which props up the fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal, which instigates the revival of German fascism and Japanese militarism, which supports the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and in its own country discriminates against the black people, it is US imperialism that helps the reactionary regimes of South Korea and the Saigon and Pnom Penh puppets, which has instigated the Zionist aggression and helps Israel to continue the occupation on of the Arab lands. From the USA blow all the frenzied winds of anti-communism, of national oppression and capitalist exploitation. Throughout Latin America with some rare exceptions, U.S. imperialism has established tyrannical fascist regimes, which mercilessly suppress and exploit the people. On that continent, all the arms used against demonstrations, the arms which kill the workers and peasants, are made in America and supplied by the Americans. The fascist coup in Chile is not the deed of local reaction alone, but also of imperialism. For three years, during all the time President Allende was in power, the rightwing Chilean forces were instigated, organized and encouraged in their counterrevolutionary activity by the U.S.A. Chilean reaction and the U.S. monopolies took revenge against President Allende for the progressive and anti-imperialist policy he followed. The undermining activity of the rightwing parties and of all the reactionary forces, their acts of violence and terror, were closely coordinated with the pressures exerted from outside by the U.S. monopolies, with the economic blockade and the political struggle of the U.S. Administration against Chile. Behind the military junta was the CIA, the same criminal hand that has carried out so many coups d'état in Latin America, Indonesia, Iran, etc. The events in Chile once again revealed the true face of U.S. imperialism. They proved once more that U.S. imperialism remains a frenzied enemy of all the peoples, a savage enemy of justice and progress, of the struggles for freedom and independence, of revolution and socialism. But the counterrevolution in Chile, is not only a deed of the avowed reactionary forces and of the U.S. imperialists. The Allende Government was also sabotaged and savagely opposed by the Christian Democrats and other factions of the bourgeoisie, so-called radical democratic forces similar to those with which the communist parties of Italy and France claim that they will march together to socialism through reforms and the peaceful parliamentary road. The Frei party in Chile not only bears «moral responsibility» because it refused to hold talks or collaborate with the Allende Government, or because it lacked loyalty to the lawful government. It is responsible because it used all possible means to sabotage the normal activity of the government, because it joined the rightwing forces to undermine the nationalized economy and to create confusion in the country, because it perpetrated a thousand and one subversive acts. It fought to create the political climate that preceded the counterrevolution. The Soviet revisionists, too, were involved in the events in Chile. The Soviet leaders are bound with a thousands threads in intrigues and plots with U.S. imperialism. They did not want to help the Allende Government when it was in power, because in this way they would clash with, and destroy their cordial relations with U.S. imperialism.

These attitudes of the Khrushchevite revisionists towards Chile and towards the theory of revolution were not borne out only in the case of the Chilean events. For instance they were borne out by the repeated tragic events in Iran where local reaction several times attacked the Tudeh party, and killed and imprisoned hundreds and thousands of communists and progressive revolutionaries, while the Soviet revisionists did not lift a finger, let alone sever diplomatic relations. They were borne out by the shattering events in Indonesia, where about 500.000 communists and progressives were killed and massacred.

And in this case, too, the Soviet revisionists did nothing, they took no action and did not consider withdrawing their embassy from Djakarta. These stands of the Soviet revisionists are not accidental. They testify to their secret collaboration with the U.S. imperialists to sabotage the revolutionary movements and to extinguish the liberation struggles of the peoples.

This stand sheds light on the demagogic character of the current noisy severance of diplomatic relations with Chile.

Such is the reality, while their fine words about their alleged solidarity with the Chilean people, just like their other demagogic slogans, are masks to deceive public opinion and to conceal their treachery towards revolution and the liberation movements of the peoples.

The Soviet Government severed diplomatic relations with Chile in order to make use of this opportunity to pose as a supporter of the victims of reaction, as if it sides with those who struggle for freedom and independence, as if the revisionists defend progressive regimes. Through this «diplomatic manoeuvre», the Soviet leaders want to moderate attacks by, and stifle the repercussions of, the conference of the nonaligned countries in Algiers, where the Soviet Union was denounced as a superpower concerned only with its hegemonistic interests, which has long given up the policy of supporting revolution and the liberation movement.

The Soviet revisionists help progressive regimes for as long as this aids their imperialist interests. But they go no further. Indeed, they are not ashamed of maintaining regular diplomatic ties with such a discredited and bankrupt regime as that of Lon Nol, while they keep silent about such a great liberation struggle as that of the Cambodian people. But the severance of diplomatic relations with Chile has more concrete aims. It seeks to close the doors of the embassy of the Soviet Union to persecuted revolutionaries seeking political asylum unlike such countries as Mexico, Argentine, Peru, etc., which shelter political refugees.

The events in Chile once more revealed the grave tragedy the peoples of Latin America are experiencing. They brought to the fore again the shortcomings, limitations and weaknesses of the revolution on that continent, the difficult roads it is traversing. But they are not only a lesson to the revolutionaries of Latin America. All revolutionaries the world over, all those fighting for national and social liberation, against imperialist interference and violence, for democracy and the progress of mankind, should draw lessons from them. This includes the revolutionaries of the Soviet Union who should rise against the revisionist rulers and overthrow them along with all the opportunist and anti-Leninist theories. Likewise, the revolutionaries of Italy, France and of the other developed capitalist countries, should draw lessons from the Chilean events, and resolutely fight against revisionism, rejecting the reactionary theories of the «peaceful parliamentary road» propagated by the Togliattists and the other revisionists.

We believe that the events in Chile, the fascist attack of reaction against the democratic victories of the Chilean people, the brutal interference of U.S. imperialism and its support for the military junta, will encourage all the peoples of the world to be vigilant, to resolutely reject the demagogic slogans of the imperialists and the revisionists as well as of the opportunists of every hue, and mobilize all their forces to courageously defend national freedom and independence, peace and security.

